

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, UN, RO

SUBJECT: U.S.-ROMANIAN CONSULTATIONS ON SSOD

1. SUMMARY: ON MARCH 15-16 U.S. AND ROMANIA DISCUSSED
UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD). NOTING
DIFFERENCES IN THEIR POSITIONS ON SOME SSOD ISSUES, BOTH
SIDES UNDERScoreD NEED FOR COMPROMISE DURING WORK OF
FINAL SSOD PREPARATORY COMMITTEE (PREPCOM) AND SSOD
ITSELF. HIGHLIGHTS OF DISCUSSION FOLLOW. END SUMMARY.

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2. GENERAL: ON MARCH 15 AND 16, U.S. AND ROMANIA HELD
CONSULTATION IN WASHINGTON ON MAY/JUNE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY
SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT. US PARTICIPANTS DURING
VARIOUS PERIODS OF DISCUSSIONS INCLUDED COUNSELOR NIMETZ,
IO ASSISTANT SECRETARY MAYNES AND DEPUTY ASSISTANT
SECRETARY HELMAN, SSOD COORDINATOR WEILER AND ACDA COUNSELOR
YARMOLINSKY. ROMANIAN DEL WAS LED BY DEPUTY FORMIN GLIGA
AND INCLUDED AMBASSADOR TO U.S. NICOLEA AND ALEXANDRU
COROIANU OF FOREIGN MINISTRY. OVIDIU PLOSCARU OF ROMANIAN
EMBASSY SERVED AS INTERPRETER. IN WELCOMING REMARKS,

NIMETZ STRESSED SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH U.S. VIEWS SSOD AND IMPORTANCE OF U.S./ROMANIAN CONSULTATIONS ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. GLIGA REPLIED THAT DECISION TO HOLD SSOD

CONSULTATIONS REFLECTED GOOD STATE OF U.S.-ROMANIAN RELATIONS AND NOTED PRESIDENT CARTER, LIKE PRESIDENT CEAUDESCU, SEEMS TO ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO DISARMAMENT.

3. DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT: MAYNES SAID U.S. BELIEVES SSOD DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT SHOULD BE BRIEF, FACTUAL CALL TO ACTION OUTLINING AGREED PRINCIPLES AND BROAD GOALS AND PRIORITIES. GLOGA EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT DURING PREPCOM SO MANY OF THE PRINCIPLES WHICH HAD BEEN SUGGESTED FOR THE DECLARATION HAD BEEN PLACED IN BRACKETS. HE SAID DECLARATION SHOULD REFLECT FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES: IMPORTANCE OF UN ROLE IN DISARMAMENT; RIGHT OF ALL STATES TO EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN DISARMAMENT DISCUSSIONS; PRIORITY OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT; RIGHT OF NON-NUCLEAR STATES TO BE ASSURED THAT THEIR SECURITY WILL NOT BE THREATENED BY USE OR THREAT OF USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; ORGANIC LINK BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT AND NEED TO REALLOCATE TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT A PORTION OF RESOURCES FREED BY DISARMAMENT; AND RIGHT OF ALL STATES
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TO DEVELOP PEACEFUL NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY.

4. PROGRAM OF ACTION: NOTING THERE WAS NO CONSENSUS YET AS TO THE BASIC APPROACH OF THE SSOD PROGRAM OF ACTION, MAYNES SAID U.S. BELIEVES IT SHOULD BE A SHORT-TERM PROGRAM OF UP TO FIVE YEARS, INCLUDING STATEMENTS OF MOST URGENT STEPS. PROGRAM SHOULD GIVE PRIORITY TO NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, BUT SHOULD INCLUDE STEPS TO HALT CONVENTIONAL ARMS RACE, AND PREVENT FURTHER NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. WEILER NOTED THAT SSOD, LIKE SALT, IS PART OF A PROCESS THAT WOULD INEVITABLY CONTINUE FOR A LONG TIME. HE SAID U.S. HAD NO PROBLEM WITH INCLUDING LONG-RANGE GOALS IN THE PROGRAM. GLIGA SAID PROGRAM OF ACTION SHOULD BE COMPREHENSIVE AND INCLUDE BOTH SHORT- AND LONG-TERM MEASURES. HE SAID TREATING ONLY SHORT-TERM MEASURES WOULD NOT BE RESPONSIVE TO PUBLIC DESIRES AS REGARDS THE LONG RANGE MEASURES. HE GRANTED, HOWEVER, THAT IN SOME OF THESE AREAS PROGRAM WOULD ONLY BE ABLE TO CITE GOALS. GLIGA APPRECIATED U.S. VIEW THAT NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT SHOULD TAKE PRIORITY. HE SAID NEGOTIATION ON A RANGE OF ISSUES, BOTH NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL, SHOULD TAKE PLACE SIMULTANEOUSLY.

5. DISARMAMENT MACHINERY: MAYNES SAID INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS FACED WITH A MAJOR INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM WITH RESPECT TO FUNCTIONAL ISSUES. ON ONE HAND, MOST COUNTRIES RECOGNIZED IT IS NECESSARY TO MEET IN SMALL

FORA WITH LIMITED PARTICIPATION TO MAKE PROGRESS IN

ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS. ON OTHER HAND, ALL COUNTRIES IN WORLD HAVE INTEREST IN AND LEGITIMATELY WANT VOICE IN ISSUES LIKE DISARMAMENT. RECOGNIZING IMPORTANCE OF SSOD, U.S. THINKS SSOD COULD PROVIDE VOICE TO ALL MEMBERS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND COULD STIMULATE PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS IN THE SMALLER FORA WHICH ULTIMATELY WILL HAVE TO DO THE DETAILED WORK. MAYNES ADDED THAT WHILE CONFIDENTIAL

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U.S. BELIEVES THERE COULD BE IMPROVEMENTS IN MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT MACHINERY, U.S. STRONGLY-HELD VIEW IS THAT THERE MUST BE A CONTINUING AND EXPERIENCED NEGOTIATING BODY, WITH A LARGELY FIXED MEMBERSHIP INCLUDING THE MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT STATES. THIS BODY--AND SSOD ITSELF-- MUST OPERATE BY CONSENSUS; DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS CANNOT BE ADOPTED BY VOTING.

6. GLIGA COMPLAINED THAT MOST DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE OUTSIDE UN AND HAVE FOCUSSED ON LIMITED MEASURES RATHER THAN GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT. BECAUSE OF DEARTH OF CONCRETE DISARMAMENT MEASURES, THERE IS MUCH CRITICISM OF THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT IN GENEVA. GLIGA SAID ROMANIAN VIEW IS THAT DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE BOTH IN LARGE AND SMALL FORA, BUT HE EMPHASIZED SUCH NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT EXCLUDE THOSE WHO DON'T HAVE ARMAMENTS. SSOD SHOULD GENERATE ESSENTIAL CHANGES IN WAY DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS TAKE PLACE AND GIVE IMPETUS TO REAL DISARMAMENT, NOT JUST ARMS LIMITATIONS. SSOD SHOULD ALSO GIVE UN A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN DISARMAMENT. WHILE CONSENSUS DECISION-MAKING AT THE SSOD WOULD BE PREFERABLE, GLIGA NOTED, THERE MIGHT BE PRESSURE TO VOTE IN THE ABSENCE OF CONSENSUS. THIS WOULD BE REGRETTABLE, HE ADDED. ROMANIA SEES THE SSOD AS AN INDEPENDENT MEETING AND NOT AS PREPARATORY TO A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, WHICH COULD TAKE PLACE ONLY IF ALL NUCLEAR POWERS WOULD PARTICIPATE.

7. WEILER AGREED THAT RECOURSE TO VOTING IN THE SSOD WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. ONCE VOTES ARE TAKEN TO MAKE DECISIONS ON LANGUAGE, THE DOCUMENTS BECOME VERY DIFFERENT, AND WOULD NOT HAVE THE SAME IMPACT ON THE DISARMAMENT CONFIDENTIAL

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PROCESS. WEILER ADDED THAT U.S. IS LOOKING AT VARIOUS SUGGESTIONS ON MACHINERY WITH AN OPEN MIND, THAT U.S. HAS NO PROBLEM WITH UN COMMITTEE ONE FOCUSING EXCLUSIVELY ON DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS, AND THAT U.S. WOULD SUPPORT

STRENGTHENED ROLE FOR UN DISARMAMENT CENTER. HE REITERATED, HOWEVER, THAT NEGOTIATING BODY, FOR PRACTICAL REASONS, COULD NOT BE ENLARGED SIGNIFICANTLY, BECAUSE IT WOULD MAKE

IT MORE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE NEGOTIATED AGREEMENTS, WHICH IS THE OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE. FINALLY, HE SAID U.S. WISHES TO AVOID THE PROLIFERATION OF UN BODIES. HE NOTED THAT ROMANIAN SUGGESTION TO RECONSTITUTE DISARMAMENT COMMISSION IS UNDERSTANDABLE IN CONTEXT OF OVERALL ROMANIAN SCHEME. U.S., HOWEVER, WOULD HAVE TROUBLE WITH SUCH A COMMISSION VOTING TO DECIDE ON ORDER AND CONTENT OF NEGOTIATIONS. THESE TOPICS ARE PART OF NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND SHOULD NOT BE SUBJECT TO VOTING. HE SAID WE ARE STUDYING NON-ALIGNED AND INDIAN PROPOSAL FOR NEW DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE TO WORK ON A COMPREHENSIVE DISARMAMENT PROGRAM BUT NOTED THIS IS A TASK CURRENTLY ASSIGNED TO THE CCD. REGARDING CCD CO-CHAIRMANSHIP, WEILER SAID IF VIABILITY OF BODY OR NEGOTIATING FORUM WERE MAINTAINED, U.S. IS PREPARED TO CONSIDER ROTATING CHAIRMANSHIP OR SOME OTHER ALTERNATIVES TO PREVENT ARGUMENT.

8. YARMOLINSKY MADE THREE OBSERVATIONS: A) THERE IS A GENERAL AWARENESS OF IMPORTANCE OF MULTILATERAL FORUMS AND THE NEED TO MAKE RESOLUTION OF MANY DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS A MULTILATERAL MATTER; B) THERE IS ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF GROUND TO BE COVERED, AS EVIDENCED BY THE CURRENT STATE OF U.S. ACTIVITY IN THE DISARMAMENT FIELD; AND C) THESE FACTORS UNDERLINE THE IMPORTANCE OF PROCEEDING BY CONSENSUS SO THAT INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN MOVE AHEAD ON A BROAD FRONT.

9. PEACEKEEPING/PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT: MAYNES SAID THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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THE STRENGTHENING OF UN PEACEKEEPING CAPABILITIES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MORE EFFECTIVE UN MACHINERY FOR THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES ARE CENTRAL TO THE PURPOSES OF THE SSOD. THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAS JUST SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS A REPORT ON UN REFORM AND RESTRUCTURING, WHICH INCLUDES PROPOSALS IN BOTH OF THESE AREAS. IO/UNP DIRECTOR BARRY SAID U.S. WOULD BE TAKING UP SOME OF THESE PROPOSALS IN THE UN CHARTER REVIEW COMMITTEE AND IN THE UN SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACEKEEPING, BUT IS UNDECIDED AS TO WHETHER TO BRING THEM UP AT THE SSOD. PASSING A COPY OF THE REPORT TO GLIGA, BARRY ASKED FOR ROMANIAN REACTIONS TO THE PROPOSALS AND ROMANIAN VIEW ON WHETHER WE SHOULD RAISE THEM IN SSOD. GLIGA SAID ROMANIA WAS FAVORABLE IN PRINCIPLE TO UN PEACEKEEPING FORCES, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE LIMITS TO THE USE OF SUCH FORCES. HE PROMISED TO STUDY AND GIVE ROMANIAN REACTION TO THE U.S. PROPOSALS.

10. THE OUTLOOK: WEILER SAID THERE IS NEED FOR COMPROMISE AND CONSENSUS-BUILDING DURING FINAL PREPCOM AND AT THE SSOD ITSELF. HE THOUGHT ESTABLISHMENT OF SMALL CONTACT GROUPS RATHER THAN OPERATING IN DRAFTING GROUPS AS IN PREPCOM IV, WOULD FACILITATE THIS. WEILER FELT THAT FINAL PREPCOM SESSION SHOULD BE ABLE TO REACH CONSIDERABLE AREA OF AGREEMENT ON DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT, BUT THAT AGREEMENT ON PROGRAM OF ACTION AND MACHINERY SECTIONS WOULD HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL SSOD ITSELF; HE NOTED IN THIS REGARD LACK OF EVIDENCE OF WILLINGNESS ON PART OF AUTHORS OF VARIOUS DRAFTS OF PROGRAMS TO COMPROMISE OR GENERALIZE LANGUAGE. HE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF PREPCOM CHAIRMAN ORTIZ DE ROSAS (ARGENTINA) WOULD DRAFT INFORMAL COMPROMISE DECLARATION FOR CONSIDERATION AT PREPCOM V. U.S. IS ALSO CONSIDERING DRAFTING A COMPROMISE DECLARATION, CONFIDENTIAL

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WHICH COULD BE CIRCULATED INFORMALLY--NOT AS A U.S. DOCUMENT--AT FINAL PREPCOM. WEILER ALSO NOTED THAT OPENNESS ON PART OF ALL PARTIES IS REAL KEY TO PROGRESS IN DISARMAMENT.

11. WEILER EMPHASIZED THAT TO BE SUCCESSFUL IN GIVING DIRECTION TO NEGOTIATIONS, PROGRAM OF ACTION COULD NOT RECOMMEND ACTION ON EVERYTHING AT ONCE, BUT MUST BE SELECTIVE, BOTH WITH RESPECT TO SUBSTANCE AND TO TIMING. HE EMPHASIZED NEED FOR COMPROMISE AND WILLINGNESS OF STATES TO GIVE UP THEIR OWN PECULIAR LANGUAGE IN THE SPIRIT OF REACHING AGREEMENT. GLIGA, EXPRESSING DISAPPOINTMENT AT RESULTS OF PREPCOM SO FAR, AGREED THERE IS A REAL NEED FOR COMPROMISE AT THE FINAL PREPCOM AND AT THE SSOD. HE SAID ANY EFFORTS AT BUILDING COMPROMISE WOULD BE USEFUL, AND NOTED THAT U.S. IS IN A GOOD POSITION TO LEAD MOVEMENT TOWARD COMPROMISE SINCE U.S. HAS NOT SUBMITTED ANY PAPERS OF ITS OWN.

12. FUTURE U.S.-ROMANIA CONTACTS: BOTH SIDES UNDERScored UTILITY OF CONSULTATIONS AND AGREED TO REMAIN IN CLOSE CONTACT IN NEW YORK DURING FINAL MEETINGS. GLIGA SAID CEAUDESCU WOULD PROBABLY RAISE SUBJECT OF SSOD WITH CARTER DURING FORMER'S APRIL TRIP TO WASHINGTON.

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